1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6 Lakemba

Katumbalevu only; Vale Lailai have one of their own. Tuimereke, as last survivor of the oldest generation, was chief of the clan (*turanga ni matanggali*).

There are also heads of the sides of the oven (*mbati ni lovo*) or residences (*i tokatoka*). Salesi of the senior branch of Vatuwangga was chief of his quarter, but resigned, and was succeeded by Peni Vakaruarua.

Levuka

Levuka bears a peculiar relation to Tumbou and to the other villages of Lakemba. The Levukans alone are permitted to wear the turban in the village. The following information concerning the Levukans was given to me by natives:

Levuka has the same meaning as *voroka*, the body, trunk, main part. Mbau is the original home of the Levukans. Their dialect still differs from that of Lakemba, but at the present day it inclines more to Lauan. Formerly they married within the village that the Levukan blood might not be lost, but now they marry outside.

Only three clans remain: Ndaulakemba, Manukuira, Ndelaikorolevu. The ceremonial name (*i thavu*) of Levuka is Ndelaikorolevu (top of the great village), it refers to the hill in Mbau on which they used to live. Ndelaikorolevu is the herald clan. The chief is known as Ndaulakemba, or short Ndau (fisherman, or the navigator).

The business of the people of Levuka was to sail. Alone they used to sail, for the other villages were on the hills. They did not plant or fish except to please themselves.

The women made pots to sell. They got clay from Mbala in Lakemba; black sand from Oneata; red sand from Narukuinanggelendamundamu in Lakemba. Both these sands were mixed with the clay. After making the pots they left them to dry for two or three weeks and then baked them. They used taro to paint washing-basins while hot; then they painted them with an infusion of mangrove bark: this gave a good appearance and made it lasting. Cooking pots they painted with the resin of the kauri technically called *makandre*. Pots were not painted inside. These pots were not taken for presentation at ceremonial exchanges or potlatches (*solevu*), but were sold and paid for in bark-cloth, oil, tobacco. They went all over Lau with their pots. There is only one woman that can make pots now—the only Levukan woman in Lau. The Lakembans still maintain their Mbauan connection. Their clan in Mbau is the Vusaratu, the clan of the Roko Tui Mbau.[1]

[1] One informant however says that Ndaulakemba goes to Tuikamba, the clan of the Vunivalu of Mbau, Ndelaikorolevu to Vusaratu, and Manukuira to the heralds.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

outer garment as a gift to the groom's relatives, and, wearing her kilt of Fijian tapa, she returned to her house. 585

The exchange of similar gifts was repeated five times, but after the first exchange the gifts were carried by three assistants plus groom or bride, the groom helping to carry his gifts, the bride hers. 431 585

The groom left six mats and six ceremonial outer garments of tapa at the bride's house; and she left one piece of Tongan barkcloth, five mats, and six ceremonial outer garments of barkcloth at his house. The gifts left at the groom's house had been provided by the bride's relatives, and, after the affinal exchange, were divided among the groom's relatives who had contributed to the collection of property for the relatives of the bride. The return gifts were divided according to the share each relative had contributed. The gifts presented to the bride's clan were later sent to Vatoa to be distributed among her relatives in the same way. The young couple received no share of the property. The mats presented by the groom were made on Fulanga, a mat-making island, but his tapa came from Namuka because no tapa is made on Fulanga. All the property presented by the girl came from Vatoa where both tapa and mats are made. [438 287]

The ceremonial exchange was followed by the sharing of the wedding feast (*mangitchi ni vakawatchi* or *mangitchi ni vakamau*). Coconut leaves were spread on the ground about midway between the house of the groom and that of the bride, and on the leaves were placed breadfruit, pumpkin, manioc pudding steamed in the earth oven, and fish boiled with greens. The feast was surrounded by a circle of 50 empty baskets, one for each household attending the wedding. It was divided by five youths who were directed by an elder of the groom's clan. The filled baskets were carried to the households in the village and to the visiting canoes beached along the shore of the lagoon. The villagers ate quickly in casual household groups or departed for home with their full baskets. 585

In the evening the close relatives from both sides assembled in the groom's house for the "eating together" feast (*mangitchi ni kana vata*), which symbolized the marriage. Each side provided one basket of food. The sister of the bride took one mouthful of food from the bride's basket in her fingers and fed it to the groom. The sister of the groom took one mouthful of food from the groom's basket and fed it to the bride. Then the baskets of food were exchanged between the intermarrying clans. The married couple removed their outer barkcloth garments which were exchanged by their clans. The "eating together" feast ended the marriage ceremonies at Naivindamu.

Informants say, however, that usually on the same evening the relatives from both sides meet to drink kava and dance in the groom's house, a festive occasion called wedding night (*mbongi marau*). Late in the evening all the

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

287 the Tongan methods. On Namuka and Mothe practically all the women make tapa sheets by the Tongan method. Only a few Mothe women and only two Namuka women, Vika of Nggalitoka clan and Penina of Nawatchia clan, use the Fijian method. Vika learned the art from her mother and Penina learned it from a woman of the Valakevoro clan of Undu, Kambara. On Kambara sheet tapa is made only by women born into the Valakevoro clan, Undu, who hand down the art to their daughters. Joana, the oldest living Valakevoro woman, says the technique was taught the women of the clan by Losalini Popua, a Tongan woman who married Luke Wanggavothe of Valakevoro. Since the Valakevoro specialists all live either in Undu or Nggalinggali in east Kambara, women of the west side of the island take strips of prepared inner bark to Undu where they make them up into sheets with the help of tapa making specialists.

Kalo of Fulanga says that when she was a child the Fulangan women made tapa sheets according to the Tongan method. Barkcloth is not made on Fulanga today.

ORGANIZATION OF THE WORK

287 561 [438] Tapa sheets are exported from Namuka and Mothe to neighboring islands and to Lakemba, and the tapa makers of these two islands are organized by age groups into three companies (*kompani*) consisting of old women, middle-aged women and young women. On Namuka these groups are called Malumalungu, Veinggaravi and Tovolea, respectively; on Mothe they are called Malumalungu, Ruve, and Komete. The Komete group is divided into two parts, the young women from Nasau village and those from Korotolu. On Namuka all three companies are under one woman, Apikale, the wife of the district headman of Kambara. She is called *liuliu*. The companies receive her permission before filling orders for tapa sheets to be exported. The three companies have a special house in which they work on the edge of the village. Informants on Namuka say that the tapa makers were organized by the district headman and his wife a few years ago after they had returned from a visit to Tonga. The tapa makers on Kambara are not organized.

THE FIJIAN METHOD

287 Only the finest types of paper mulberry are used in the making of tapa by the Fijian method. Fijian sheet tapa from the types of paper mulberry called *masi ntchina* and *ndrauthoko* is made only from smooth, light-colored strips of prepared bark (*siku*) of uniform thickness. Torn strips are rejected. The first step in the somewhat complicated process is to remove the entire bark from the trunk of the paper mulberry by splitting it lengthwise, freeing the lower end with the teeth and pulling it off, a process called *ndrundru*. The

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

287 531 *Masi tutuki* usually consists of two or more lengths of tapa, two thicknesses each. It is the width of the original strips (60 cm. to 1 meter) and is frequently several meters long. The edges are often cut into a fringe. It is decorated with a stenciled design in which the whole surface is either treated with a single circular unit called *vutu*, repeated in black on a field of white and edged with a border of black and brown geometric designs, or is divided by longitudinal lines into bands filled in with geometric designs in black and red brown. *Masi tutuki* is worn on ceremonial occasions and hung along the lower tie beams of a house as a wall decoration.

287 531 386 The design unit used for stenciling is made by folding the leaf of the banana, *vutu*, or pandanus and cutting it in such a way that it opens out into the desired unit. The open leaf is then spread on the surface of the barkcloth as a stencil and a piece of tapa dipped in dye is daubed over it. A relatively small number of design units are repeated and recombined according to one general pattern in most of the stencil work. Each design area and each unit is named (fig. 16).

The red-brown dye, called *kesa*, used for stencils and rubbings on tapa, is made by one of the following recipes.

[824] (1) The inner bark of the mangrove and the *ngandoa* are soaked in water in a wooden bowl for two days, the water is poured off, the bark is beaten with a stone pounder on a stone slab, water is added, and the mixture is strained and boiled. (2) The inner bark of the *kesawai* or *yasiyasi* (*Eugenia*) is scraped, strained, and boiled. (3) The inner bark of the *sikethi* is treated in the same fashion. All three recipes are used on Namuka but the Namukan women say the first two are the best. On Kambara, where the mangrove is absent, only *ngandoa* is used.

[438] Black dye is made by boiling brown *kesa* dye for several hours. It is also produced by mixing brown *kesa*, soot, and red ochre (*umea*) imported from Komo.

287 The steps in tapa making described above can be carried out by one woman working alone. The process of joining strips into large sheets requires the cooperation of many women. According to the Fijian method the strips are joined by the felting process. I witnessed the felting process on Mothe where 14 women from all three companies were making a sheet of Fijian sheet tapa to be presented as tribute (called *ngatu na ka vanua*) to the high chief.

Tapa boards and old dugouts were placed end to end, to form a long tapa board. The women, each with a mallet, sat in a row along one side of and facing the board. Four damp, oblong strips were fitted together with parallel grain, to form one piece of four thicknesses. Twenty such units, of four thicknesses each, were passed out by the leader. The women spread them out lengthwise along the board and fitted them end to end. At the seam the piece consisted of eight thicknesses dovetailed with four thicknesses in the center, two above and two below. At a signal from the leader the women beat along the seam, the grooved sides of the mallets diagonal to it. The beating was done in unison and could be heard throughout the village. Next, the seams were sprinkled with water

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

437 For example, at a recent *solevu* between Muanaithake and Komo (pp. 73-74), held at Fulanga, besides the property for the *solevu*, each Komo man brought property to barter (*vakasombu*) with his Fulangan relatives. He simply placed the gift (*vakasombu*) in the relative's house, saying, "This is your so and so." Later the recipient asked what was wanted as a return gift (*i tala*) and he tried to outdo the other in the quantity and quality of the gift.

One Komo man gave his Fulangan relative as *vakasombu* two baskets of manioc, one basket of bananas, and one basket of breadfruit. The Fulangan man gave as the return gifts four mats, two wooden bowls, and three chickens. The Fulangan man won. Those carrying goods to another island initiate the exchange and usually return with more than they have given.

Interisland Trade

native trade goods

Kambara

438 The chief exports of Kambara are large canoes, wooden bowls (especially kava bowls), mats, some Tongan barkcloth (the foregoing are distributed all over Lau and in Fiji proper), timber for house posts and digging sticks distributed to the volcanic islands, and coconut oil and *vetau* bark for hair dye. The chief imports of the island are tobacco, kava, and food (including yams, sweet yams, taro, and breadfruit) from the volcanic islands and Namuka, basaltic stones from the volcanic islands, barkcloth from Namuka, bamboo and *walaki* baskets from Fiji proper, and perfumes for oil from Lau and Viti Levu. Kambara gets from Wangava turtles, garden produce, and shellfish.

Namuka

The most important export of Namuka is Tongan barkcloth. Most of it is traded to Lakemba in exchange for yams and taro; some is traded to Kambara for mats, kava and food bowls, and occasionally for a small canoe for use within the reef; a small amount finds its way to all the southern Lau islands except Ono (which produces sufficient Tongan barkcloth to supply her own demands). Namuka also exports gongs, which go to Lakemba, Suva, and Kambara and small canoes for lagoon use. Last year seven canoes were sent from Namuka to Lakemba, Matuku, and Moala. Manioc, breadfruit, yams, and bananas are traded to Fulanga and Ongea in return for mats and bowls; yams to Kambara in return for mats and bowls; to Komo and Mothe in return for food; sweet potatoes and watermelons (known as the best in Lau) to Lakemba.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Mothe

Mothe exports manioc, sweet yams, yams, and bananas, tobacco, kava, 438
sikethi for dye, volcanic stones and reeds to Fulanga, Ongea, and Kambara. Mothe also exports Fijian barkcloth in small quantities to all the neighboring islands, but chiefly to Lakemba. Mothe receives from the islands to the south all her canoes, heavy timber for house posts, adz handles, wooden bowls, digging sticks, tapa boards, and mats. Some of these manufactured articles are used locally but others are traded in turn to Lakemba. Mothe also imports banana shoots and taro plants, as well as taro roots from Lakemba, paper mulberry plants from Namuka, and sandalwood seed from Oneata and Lakemba. She receives *vunga* leaves, used for dyeing the hair, from Komo and Kambara.

Fulanga

The chief exports of Fulanga are canoes, headrests, mats and mat sails, timber, fowl, wooden bowls, digging sticks, and shellfish. These articles are sent chiefly to Mothe and Namuka in return for food, mainly manioc.

Ongea

The chief exports of Ongea are canoes, mats and mat sails, food bowls (especially *papasia*), and timber, mainly to Mothe, in exchange for food, tobacco, barkcloth, and kava.

IMPORTED TRADE GOODS

Metal axes, knives, and cooking pots, matches, tobacco, fishhooks and a 439
small amount of trade cloth, kerosene, and soap are imported to the southern islands. They are usually bartered in exchange for copra.

TRADERS

Formerly the Levukans of Lakemba were professional sailors and traders 438
(p. 35). There are no professional traders in Lau today. The most active traders are the natives of Fulanga and Ongea, who are dependent on the islands to the north for food. They trade chiefly with Mothe and Namuka, never with Kambara. On Fulanga the natives of the village of Naivindamu do most of the sailing, although Muanaira owns the largest number of sailing canoes. Fulanga and Ongea are rarely visited by traders. Mothe, situated at the junction of trade routes from the north, south, and west, is a trade center. The natives of Mothe trade with all their neighbors. They act as middlemen in exchanging goods, especially from southern Lau northward as far as Lakemba. Namuka is also a trade center. Both Namuka and Mothe are visited by trading canoes from all the southern islands. The natives of

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

438 Namuka own no large sailing canoes and all the exports from Namuka are carried by canoes from other islands. The natives of Kambara make trading journeys to Namuka, Komo, Mothe, and occasionally to Lakemba.

438 487 Trade routes tend to follow a south-north, north-south direction. The main trade routes in southern Lau are:

1, Fulanga or Ongea to Mothe either directly or via Namuka

2, Fulanga to Namuka either directly or via Mothe

3, Kambara to Mothe via Wangava and Namuka

4, Kambara to Lakemba via Wangava, Komo, Olorua, and Aiwa, returning either via the same route or via Aiwa, Oneata, Komo, and Wangava

5, Mothe to Lakemba via Oneata and Aiwa

Interisland traders tend to start out northward and take advantage of the southeast trades. For the return journey they must await a change of weather. They usually return after from 3 to 21 days.

438 505 Most of the native interisland trade is carried by sailing canoes, occasionally by cutter. The canoes are loaded with great care. Wooden bowls are placed in the hull, barkcloth and mats, wrapped in old mats, are placed on the deck, and timber is lashed to the deck.

438 Interisland trade is informal, usually carried on by groups of sailors, in from one to five canoes. Less trading is done during the northwest monsoon, especially by Kambarans, Namukans, and Mothese, than during the remainder of the year.

[602] Exchange is effected mainly by means of barter, although occasionally by the ceremonial presentation pattern. It is practically always carried on between relatives who act as hosts to the traders, housing and feeding them while they remain on the island. Goods are usually exchanged not singly but in piles. There are no fixed prices and there is no medium of exchange. (See pages 209-210.) First the initial payment or gift is made. The exchange is satisfactory if the return payment or gift is "levu" (big) for quantity is very important. Each transaction involves a unique adjustment between economic necessity and rivalry for social prestige on the part of traders.

CONCLUSION

105 Lauan culture consists of a mixture of three complexes—the culture of the aborigines, that of the immigrants from the west, and that of the Tongans from the east. The key to this configuration is found on the island of Kambara in southern Lau. Fortunately for the ethnologist, Kambara is not only isolated in the Fiji group, but the island combines a simple natural environment with an important natural economic monopoly. Kambara's isolation, like that of Fulanga and Ongea, permitted the survival of the land people, the aboriginal inhabitants. Hardwood attracted the major exotic cul-

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Gaming Grounds

A long shallow ditch (*rara ni tchingga*), called Wainikeli, which the natives say was formerly used for the dart game (*tchingga*), was examined in east central Wangava. The site has been described on pages 78-79. 172

Canoe Builders' Pit

On the beach at Naimarai, reputed to be the site of a village located on the northeast coast of Kambara and formerly occupied by Tongan canoe builders, is a pit which informants say was used in building double canoes. The rough hull was drawn across the mouth of the pit so that the canoe builders could stand conveniently in the pit while building up and finishing the hull. This was probably used especially for the *tambetembete* type of Tongan double canoe with keel. 172 396

Fishponds

On Mothe fishponds bordered by walls of basaltic stones were seen. These have been described on pages 135-136. 172

Cannibal Earth Oven

The site of an earth oven which informants said was formerly used for steaming human bodies (*lovo ni 'mbakola*), was seen near Undu village. It consisted of a somewhat circular pit in the ground, larger than the usual pit used to steam food for a feast. [354] [266]

Shell Mounds

An extensive, low shell mound, formed of the shells of edible mollusks, was seen on the shore at Yawalevu, Fulanga. The edge of the mound was used for a sweet potato garden. By pushing aside the shells which covered the surface of the ground and scraping the earth below into a mound, a small circular clearing had been made for each sweet potato plant.

Potters' Clay Site

The natives of Kambara say that potters' clay was formerly obtained from Matanimoko at the foot of Ndelaioloi near Lomatchi. It was made into pots by the women of Levuka, Lakemba, when they visited the island on regular trading expeditions. The women of southern Lau were not potters but obtained their pots from the Levuka women, from Matuku, Kandavu, and Tailevu (24, pp. 111-112). [323] [438]

Stone Quarries

It is probable that sites of quarries, which formerly supplied basalt for the manufacture of stone implements used in southern Lau, occur on the volcanic islands but none was located. [324] [316]

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

133 On the other hand, the limestone islands (e.g., Fulanga) have cliffs and
137 forested low plateaus, which tend to erode into basins whose sharp-crested rims drop steeply to the sea. They have no valleys or streams, all the rainfall sinking underground and reaching the sea by an intricate system of subterranean caverns. Except in Namuka, where the soil is relatively deep, only a
[134] thin layer of rather poor topsoil occurs in pockets in the interior basins. Such limestone soil supports a distinctive flora. Useful hardwoods, such as the greenheart of India (*Intsia bijuga*), *mbau* (*Pittosprum brackenridgei*) and *makota* (*Dysoxylum richii*), as well as other jungle plants which are absent or scarce on the volcanics, flourish on the limestones of southern Lau. However, yams do not grow well in this type of soil. Apparently these islands had no horticulture before manioc and sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*) found their way to Lau in historic times.[7]

In sum, good garden land and food are generally limited on the limestone islands but plentiful on the volcanics, while forest products are scarce on the volcanics but abundant on the limestones. Thus, the resources of the two geological types complement each other, the fifteen islands forming a naturally balanced community or self-sufficient native trade area.

[438]

13 The foundations of this ecological arrangement extend far back in the geological history of the region. On the basis of paleogeological evidence, Ladd and Hoffmeister[8] infer that organic life in the island community under consideration began during the Lower Miocene before the Lau group had emerged above sea level, and it played a major part in the formation of the various islands and in laying the foundations for their present ecological structures. As soon as the islands projected above the level of the sea and the processes of erosion began to develop topsoil, we assume that the fundamental biotics of each island began to develop—limestone biotics on the limestones and volcanic biotics on the volcanics.

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shrubs and stunted trees; and scattered *Pandanus* and *Casuarina*. The dominant littoral species are: *ndilo* (*Calophyllum inophyllum*), *vutu* (*Barringtonia speciosa*), *evu* (*Tournefortia argentea*), *evueve* (*Hernandia peltata*), *nawanawa* (*Cordia subcordata*), *tatang-ngia* (*Acacia lauriflora*), *vevendu* (*Scaevola koenigii*), *tavola* (*Terminalia littoralis*), *ndrala* (*Erythrina indica*), etc. Besides these there are the usual *Pandanus*, numerous vines and groves of coconut palms."

[7] According to Bryan (MSS.): "All the limestone islands . . . support one type of forest. It is made up throughout the group of the same fifty or so species of trees and tall shrubs, with an undergrowth of *Piper* (*wangawa*), bird's eye pepper (*rokete*), ferns, herbs and several vines. The luxuriance alone depends upon the size and elevation of the island. There is an interesting, rapid and progressive increase in the number of species and the height of growth, from the nearly bare rocks, such as Latei Viti and Bacon Island with but two or three species of prostrate herbs, to the splendid forests of Kambara, Mango, etc. First to appear after the herbs and vines are low, stunted trees of such widespread species as *Hernandia peltata*, *Tournefortia argentea*, and a *Ficus* with orange fruit commonly eaten by pigeons. A few of the small islands have native palms in considerable numbers. *Pandanus* and *Casuarina* appear early in the scale."

[8] Ladd and Hoffmeister, 1945; Ladd, 1934.

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

13 Another institution which is part of the total system under discussion is the
431 intervillage ceremonial exchange, called *solevu*. Food from the volcanic islands
438 is exchanged for craft goods such as mats, barkcloth, wooden bowls and canoes from the limestone islands, by means of the *solevu*, a complicated pattern of exchange between related villages based on an adaptation of the ancient ceremony used in the presentation of first fruits, mentioned above. Along with the public ceremonial exchange of goods between the two participating villages, there occurs during the four days of the *solevu* a certain amount of private exchange of gifts and barter between related individuals from the two villages. This gives a high degree of flexibility to the arrangement. The *solevu* also provides an occasion for the exchange of feasts, dances, and songs between the two groups and for intervillage games and sports.

The institution of the *solevu* functions not only to provide a pleasant interlude in the daily routine of hard work necessary to group survival in southern Lau, but also as an efficient and self-regulatory "mechanism" to stimulate production of food and craft articles and to expand the system of distribution of each island to include a group of both limestone and volcanic islands whose complementary resources form a natural trade area. We have noted how the institutions of the crop custodian and the master fisherman, in the ecological context of each island, function traditionally to increase in size and nutritive value the local food supply and operate toward its more equitable distribution. We now observe that the *solevu* provides an integrating, logical link in the total productive and distributive system which unites the various islands of the community into a balanced, interdependent and co-operative whole whereby sectional differences in resources are transformed into assets and each group, regardless of its resources, is enabled to obtain what it needs for a balanced diet and economy.

13 The importance of the *solevu* in the total economy of southern Lau is
431 brought into relief by the effect of its prohibition by the Colonial Government.
438 Some years ago British officials outlawed large ceremonial exchanges in Fiji,
178 because, it was said, they thought such a prohibition would prevent waste of needed energy and resources. Doubtless, in other parts of Fiji, where food is more plentiful, there was a wastage of resources in connection with the *solevu*. The effect of the regulation in the community under consideration, however, was not to abolish the *solevu* but rather to reduce the number of *solevus* held in the area. This in turn tended to reduce the output of craft goods, especially mats and barkcloth, the main *solevu* craft goods. According to the local division of labor, mats and barkcloth are made by the women, who also tend the babies, care for the houses, and, as noted above, procure and prepare part of the food. The men, on the other hand, besides their food producing and cooking functions already noted, hunt and fish with spears, care for the pigs, build and sail large sea-going canoes, trade between islands, and produce wooden bowls and

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

sennit. This nice balance of labor between the sexes in Lau has been disturbed by the diminution in the production of women's crafts, due mainly to the government's prohibition of the *solevu*, the women being left with a considerable amount of time on their hands which they formerly used in creative activity. The men, on the other hand, tend to labor more than ever, trying to compensate for the diminished food supply. But since garden lands are insufficient in quantity and quality on most islands to cover the needs of the population without importing food, regardless of the amount of energy expended in gardening by native methods, food is scarcer than ever. It should be added that, although the supply of hardwoods, found only on the limestones, is limited, there seems to be little danger that the forests will be depleted by the small amount of timber cut for canoes and craft goods by means of native technology. Thus, instead of operating to prevent wastage of energy and resources, the prohibition of the *solevu* actually operates toward throwing out of line the nicely adjusted system of food production and distribution and the balanced sexual division of labor in the community, reducing the work and creativity of the women, increasing the work of the men, and engendering a food shortage on many of the islands.

The entire system of production and distribution described above, it should be noted, is basically accommodative and co-operative, and it is effected with a minimum of coercion, since rewards in the form of group prestige go automatically to the group (and incidentally also to the individual) who willingly gives or contributes most to the whole. Stinginess means loss of prestige. Within the system, however, rivalry between groups functions as a creative stimulus toward the goal of increased production of high quality products and more equitable distribution of these to the whole community. Apparently it is an indispensable ingredient contributing toward the self-maintenance and self-regulation of the system. Moreover, institutionalized, competitive group-giving prevents the development of an economic monopoly which might otherwise emerge in an area where the distribution of local resources is irregular and where rank and status are highly developed. Under it not even the chiefs may keep their tribute but rather, under penalty of losing face, must redistribute it to their followers. Thus, traditionally, the system prevents the accumulation of wealth in the hands of any one group or individual, and it insures that community resources will remain available to the whole group for immediate use according to need.

Before concluding we should note one more point which is vital to an understanding of the Lauan system of production and distribution described above. Despite its fine adjustment to the ecological setting and its basically self-perpetuating nature, this system could not operate effectively unless it were counterbalanced by a psychocultural arrangement which functioned to regulate and limit the size of the human population in relation to the resources of

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Behavior Theory W3

the community made available by the indigeneous technology. Analyzing Lauan culture from this viewpoint, we find a complementary set of institutions which do actually tend to function toward just this end.

For example, after the birth of a child the father moves out of the family dwelling and sleeps in the men's house of the clan. He is not allowed to have sexual intercourse with his wife until the baby is weaned, a period of from nine months to two years. The strict observance of this custom is attested by the fact that siblings in Lau are almost without exception at least eighteen months apart. Thus the men's house complex, correlated with certain tabus, functions as a means of birth spacing and population control and of protecting maternal and infant health. Ritual continence was practiced in Lau on many occasions. Several methods of abortion were used, mainly by unmarried mothers. In Fulanga old people who had outlived their usefulness, according to native standards, were formerly abandoned on a small island in the lagoon. Where chieftainship was highly developed, those who broke tabus concerning the nobility were clubbed to death. Raiding between villages, in the course of which men, women and children were killed, was not infrequent in the group, and those who were captured, regardless of age or sex, were consumed by the victors at cannibalistic feasts. These are some of the Lauan practices which, together with accidents, hurricanes, disease, and a rate of infant and maternal mortality which was probably rather high, tended to limit the size of the population in relation to the available resources within the natural and cultural setting. Although in historic times Fijian population totals were greatly reduced, especially by the ravages of white man's diseases, the low point was reached at about 1911. Thereafter the trend has been slowly upward. The population of southern Lau gained 155 per 1,000 between 1921 and 1935.[21] At the time of the present field work, the population of the community was about 1,500.

Certain significant generalizations which grow out of the foregoing analysis may now be formulated.

We noted that in our island community a unique and balanced biotic system developed in isolation over a very long period of time and in the absence of large land animals. The advent of man, which occurred relatively late in the ecological developmental sequence, introduced not only a new species, namely *Homo sapiens*, into this natural community but also other fauna and flora, as well as the artifacts carried by man as part of his cultural equipment. Still more important, perhaps, it added human cultural processes to the fundamental ecological processes already operating in the area. In a relatively short time, from the eco-historical viewpoint, there emerged, on the basis of the ancient biotics, a new eco-cultural structure which involved plants, animals

[21] For details *see* Thompson, 1940a, p. 137.

7: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6

the colonies of Tongans which sprang up in Lau had a marked effect upon the Lauan culture and race.[2]

The use of hardwood and the high development of carpentry account for the large number and range in size of the cutting-implements found in southern Lau.

Blades of stone and shell are no longer used as cutting-implements in Lau. They have been replaced by metal tools, hafted according to the old patterns, but many old implements are found in archaeological sites. Some are used today by the natives for *ivi* (*Inocarpus edulis* Forst.) nut-crackers or earth oven-stones.

Most of the stone cutting-implements are carefully made of selected, fine-grained basalt. They have been either pecked or chipped into shape, and all surfaces have been ground, and occasionally polished. A few specimens are composed of resistant sandstone, which is almost quartzite. All basalt implements found on the limestone islands such as Fulanga, Ongea, Wangava, and Namuka, have been imported from volcanic islands, probably chiefly from Komo, Lakemba, and Kambara (composed of limestone with a volcanic outcrop).

Stone Adzes[3]

The stone adzes have been classified according to cross-section into four types:— circular, elliptical, trapezoidal, and rectangular.

Circular Type

Fusiform adzes with circular cross-section are grouped as the circular type. (See Pl. A, 1 and fig. 1). There are a large number of adzes of this type in the collection. They narrow toward the pole, which is slightly flattened, and toward the edge, which is slightly curved and narrow, except when the adze has been worn down by sharpening of both

[2]For further information concerning the Tongans in Lau see my "Kulturgeschichte der Lauinseln (Fidschi gruppe)," *Archiv für Anthropologie* vol. 76, 1937.

[3]The terminology used in this study follows Buck, Emory, Skinner, and Stokes, "Terminology for ground stone cutting-implements in Polynesia," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 39, no. 2, 1930.

8: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6
Levuka

women dug it at a depth of about thirty centimetres from the surface of the ground. It was carried in baskets *(kato mbolambola)* by young women to the village. Black sand, used for tempering, was obtained from Vatulingilingi, Waitambu. Each potter made pots in her own home. To make a pot *(tulituli)*, clay, sand, and water were mixed thoroughly on an old mat. Then a large lump of the clay, sufficient to make the entire pot, was rolled into a ball, flattened out and the edges built up into the walls of the pot. The clay was not rolled into coils. During the process of construction the pot rested on a ring of barkcloth, called *tonggi*. The outer surface of the pot was beaten with a wooden paddle, called *kau ni tulituli*, against a stone, called *vatu ni tulituli*, held inside the pot. Paddles and stones were of various sizes. Designs were incised on the rim or the wall-surface with *sasa* (midrib of coconut-leaflet). The pots were dried in the sun for a day or two and then fired. For firing, coconut-spathes were piled up and the pots were laid on their sides on the pile and covered with more coconut-spathes. The pile was lighted and if the fire was hot, the pots became red. They were fired for about two hours and then removed with a stick inserted into the opening. While the pots were still hot, a varnish made of *makandre*-gum was rubbed on the outside surface of the *vuluvulu* (basin)-type and *ndonggo* (mangrove) was rubbed on the outside surface of the *kuro* (cooking pot)-type. The following types of earthenware vessels were made in Levuka: *kuro*, a pot used for cooking, *vuluvulu*, a basin used for hand washing and *sangga*, a jar used for drinking water (Pl. A, fig. 3).

The Levuka women manufactured pots in Levuka for trade in the southern islands. They also accompanied their men, who were professional sailors and traders, to such islands as Kambara and Oneate, where suitable clay was to be found, and made pots on the islands to supply the local demand.

On Kambara, according to old informants, they lived in the village for which they were making pots. The clay was obtained from Matanimoko at the foot of Ndelaioloi near Lomatchi village. The men dug the clay and carried it in baskets to the village where the women were working.

8: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6

323 463 438 The pots were made in a shed, according to the built-up, lump-technique of the Levukans. Two main types of pots were made: *ndolokoto* and *ndari*. The *ndolokoto* was a large cooking-pot, one to two metres high, and up to one and a half metres in diameter. The pot was rounded, so that it could not stand upright. It was laid on its side on two stones over the fire. The pot had two narrow mouths, one at each end. The *ndari* was a basin or bowl made in various [531] sizes and used for kava or for pudding. It was decorated with incised geometric designs around the rim. The Kambara women traded mats for Levuka pots. Occasionally the Kambara men obtained pots in Levuka.

The Kambara women were not pot-makers, but informants remember that one woman who made pots lived in Tokalau for many years. Her name was Tara Nevini from Nandurumbua sib, Nggalikarua village, Matuku. She left Kambara just before the measles epidemic in 1875.

[317] On Oneate the Levuka women made pots of red clay *(nggele ndamu)* found on the hills, mixed with black sand *(nuku loaloa)* from Sovilolo, a beach on the island. According to Tui Oneate (chief of Oneate), when the Levuka people were succeeded by Katumbalevu, they moved to Oneate, where they lived until they were recalled to Lakemba.*

Pots were imported into southern Lau from the island of Matuku. They were made in the village of Nggalikarua.

Pots from Kandavu were also traded in southern Lau. On Kambara they were exchanged for barkcloth *(ngatu)*, wooden kava-bowls *(kumete ni yanggona)*, food-bowls *(kumete ni kana manioke)*, perfumed oil *(waliwali)*, and [435] digging-sticks *(saupa)*. There was no standard of value, but the women say one large Kandavu pot was equivalent to about one wooden kava-bowl or to one sheet of barkcloth *(ngatu)* (about three by three metres) and one container *(fango)* of coconut-oil.

[439] Pots from fabrication centres in Tailevu on Viti Levu also found their way to Lau.

* For further information concerning the Levuka potters see Hocart, A.M., The Lau islands, Fiji, *Bishop Museum Bul.* 62, 1929, pp. 18-19.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

with troubled eyes on the burnt houses, the trees destroyed, and the canoes and other property wilfully smashed. And among other things that had been destroyed in the fighting was the great drum of Matokano.

"Now, as you know, sir, Ono is but a poor land for trees, and we have no *vesi*, the fine timber tree that is so useful to us people of Lau, and we have to go over many miles of ocean to get *vesi* canoes, bowls, and other things from our brothers of Kabara Island. But the distance is great and the dangers many, and that is why our ordinary fishing canoes, as you have seen, are made only of hollowed coco-nut trees, joined in the middle—though for long journeys we must needs have *vesi* canoes, for they are the iron ships of us Lau islanders. So Tui Matokano gathered his people together and told them to prepare much *gatu* (native cloth) and to weave the fine mats of Ono, and get ready for a *solevu* (a bartering) at Kabara. And good was their sailing to Kabara, and the gods were favourable, and they obtained four canoes and many bowls and a great new drum whose like had never been seen before. It was of rich red *vesi* wood, smooth as a polished stone, and half as high as a man did it stand. And the sound of it was better than Tui Matokano had ever heard before.

"And one day Tui Matokano said, 'Here is